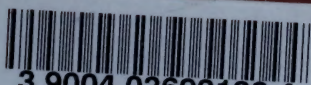


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Canada and the Navy

A SPEECH

DELIVERED BY

The Honourable

Sir George Ross

Kt., LL.D.

(LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION IN THE SENATE)

*In Moving Amendment to the Naval Aid Bill
in the Senate of Canada on
May 27th, 1913.*

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N.A.

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Senate of Canada
on the
**Naval Policy of the Borden
Government**

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS (Middlesex): Allow me to offer my congratulations to the hon. leader of the government on the calm, lucid and comprehensive statement he made to us yesterday on the Bill under consideration. My hon. friend felt, no doubt, the responsibility of the position he occupied. Allow me to join with him in expressing a similar sense of responsibility, and I can only now, at the outset, assure the hon. members of the Senate that I approach the discussion of the Bill before the House with a deep sense of my responsibility to the Senate and to the country. I realize that what I say may be read and considered far beyond the limits of this Chamber, that in the mother country, as well as in His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas, all eyes are turned towards Canada at this moment.

Unfortunately the voice in which we speak on this question is, by circumstances for which I am not responsible, construed to be the voice of party rather than the voice of the country. It is not for me to question the loyalty of those who disagree with my views. May I hope for similar generosity in return, or perhaps still better, may I hope that those who read our speeches may believe that we are equally anxious, though by different means, to maintain the solidarity of the British empire, and to strengthen the bonds of defence and attachment which for over one hundred and fifty years have so happily bound Canada to the mother land. In the lines of welcome addressed by Tennyson, England's greatest poet laureate, to the Queen mother, when, as the bride and wife of the Prince of Wales, she turned her face toward England, her new, home, let me say:

For Saxon, or Dane, or Norman are we,
Teuton or Celt or whatever we be;
We are all Danes in our welcome to thee, Alexandra.

May I adapt these lines to the present occasion and say:

For Saxon or Dane, or Norman are we,
Teuton or Celt or whatever we be;
We are Britons all, in our love for thee, Britannia.

Defence a Duty.

The promotion of defence is a duty we owe to ourselves and to the empire. We are all agreed that from centre to circumference Canada is the home of patriotic citizens. We are feeling our way in a large sense, for the first time, how we can best express that patriotism. The line of cleavage between the two sides of the House appears to be, whether the contribution, as the Bill says, to increase

the naval defence of the empire is a better expression of our loyalty than a permanent policy which combines the defence of Canada and her commercial routes to Great Britain with such an extension of a Canadian fleet as would render it serviceable at the same time for the defence of the empire, wherever its integrity was assailed. Let me briefly and somewhat on the lines of my hon. friend's speech state the origin of this great question of naval defence and its development during the last few years as I understand it. The first movement in the House of Commons for naval defence was made by the Hon. Mr. Foster. In November 1909 he introduced a resolution, which I do not propose to read at length, but in which he stated "that Canada should no longer delay in assuming her proper share of responsibility and financial burden incidental to the protection of her exposed coast-line, and great sea ports." In a speech of great power Mr. Foster enforced the purpose of his resolution. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the leader of the government of that day, moved an amendment thereto, in which he agreed with Mr. Foster as to the desirability of Canada doing her full share in the defence of the empire. Mr. Borden, then leader of the opposition, concurred in the general purpose of both resolutions, but suggested some changes in the amendment moved by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Let me present a few of the points in that resolution, which consisted of four clauses, in which both sides of the House concurred as amended by Mr. Borden. The first clause is expressed in these terms:

"This House fully recognizes the duty of the people of Canada, as they increase in numbers and wealth, to assume in larger measure the responsibilities of national defence."

I am sure every senator will concur, that it would be intolerable if, with our wealth and great resources and our abundant prosperity, we should look idly on as the mother land is preparing to fight the battles of the empire, and to fight our battles. May I speak for hon. gentlemen when I say that we concur in the proposition to which unanimous assent was given in the other Chamber.

The second clause is still more striking;

The House is of opinion that under the present constitutional relations—

May I emphasize the words "constitutional relations."

—between the mother country and the self-governing dominions, the payment of regular and periodical contributions to the imperial treasury for naval and military purposes would not so far as Canada is concerned, be the most satisfactory solution of the question of defence.

Hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS (Middlesex): To that proposition, we adhere on this side, on both grounds—first because of our present constitutional relations, and, on the other, because of the entangling character, which I shall expose later on, of possible contributions to the mother country for defence. Clause 3 says:

The House will cordially approve of any necessary expenditure designed to promote the speedy organization—

and let me say the word "speedy" was interpolated at Mr. Borden's request—

—of a Canadian naval service in co-operation with and in close relation to the Imperial navy, along the lines suggested by the Admiralty at the last Imperial conference and in full sympathy with the view that the naval supremacy of Britain is essential to the security of commerce, the safety of the empire and the peace of the world.

A Patriotic Policy.

That clause was drafted by the hand of a statesman. Look what it contains—the speedy organization of Canadian naval defence; no delay if the empire is in danger; in close relation to the Imperial navy, no separation of the daughter from the mother; no dispersion of the forces of the empire over seven seas; but Canada, as she ought—and shall I say as I hope she always will be—prepared to co-operate in full sympathy with the British navy in the security of commerce, the safety of the empire, and the peace of the world. The latter phrase of that resolution is to me as important as any. We agree, I think, on both sides of the House, that the naval supremacy of England is not sought for the glory of the British Empire alone; that she does not seek to maintain the sovereignty of the seas that her history may be perpetuated and that her people may rejoice in her supremacy; but that she has a higher and a nobler ambition, grander than any conceived except in the vision of the prophets of old—that her supremacy should promote our common christianity and maintain the peace of the world. And then, lastly—

The House expresses its firm conviction that whenever the need arises the Canadian people will be found ready—

aye, ready—

—and willing to make any sacrifice that is required to give to the Imperial authorities the most loyal and hearty co-operation in every movement for the maintenance of the integrity and honour of the empire.

Cordial Reception of Policy.

These resolutions were read from ocean to ocean, and the response to them was as cordial throughout the Dominion as it was in the House of Commons. They thrilled Canada with the thought that she had entered upon a new epoch in her history as on the day when she was initiated into the family of nations some forty years before; that she was about to take her place beside her royal mother to defend the constitution which gave England liberty, civil and religious, and in which we share so generously and so freely. And may I note here the chronological fact, that this resolution was adopted on the 29th day of March, 1909—the 42nd anniversary of the day on which Her Majesty the Queen signed the charter of Canadian liberty, the British North America Act. We join with all those who believe in the value of that Act in declaring that Her Majesty did nothing more for Canada of greater importance to the empire than the House of Commons did on the 29th of March when both parties united in a common purpose for the common defence of the empire. Now let me ask, who stood sponsors for that resolution? Particularly three men—Laurier, Borden, Foster. (I may be pardoned, as being guilty of no breach of courtesy, for not mentioning those names in connection with the titles usually attached to them.)

Laurier, Borden and Foster.

They are all leaders of public opinion, one for forty years a prominent figure in the House of Commons, the other two for a shorter period, but each in his own place maintaining the dignity of the Chamber, and commanding the confidence and respect of his friends. These three men stood sponsors, and in their views the whole Commons concurred. Let me read a word or two from the

speeches of two of them. I will read first from the speech of Mr. Borden, who is now leader of the government. On that day he said:

In so far as my right hon. friend the Prime Minister to-day outlined the lines of naval defence, I am entirely at one with him. I am entirely of opinion, in the first place, that the proper line upon which we should proceed in that regard is the line of having a naval force of our own.

I like that Canadian pride.

The other experiment has been tried as between Australia and the Mother Country, and it has not worked satisfactorily in any respect. In Great Britain the contribution has perhaps been regarded as rather unsatisfactory, in Australia it failed in the end, to meet with the approval of the people.

So I am at one with the Prime Minister in so far as this is concerned. I am at one with him in this respect also that I think an expenditure of money designed for that purpose ought, in the main at least, to be under the control of our own parliament; and that by making an appropriation of that kind, and attending to the defence, and to co-ordination with the Imperial navy forces, we would be rendering a real service to the defence of the empire, and we would be doing our duty not only to Canada, but to the empire as a whole.

What suggestions I have to make I make with the sincere desire that we may shape a resolution of which we can all approve and which shall go forth to the world as a ringing declaration that if the mother of nations has to fight the battle of her life, the people of Canada without distinction of party or of creed will stand by her side in that fight. This is too great a question for the introduction of party strategy. It is a question in respect to which we should all rise superior to party motives, and so I propose making to my right hon. friend one or two suggestions which I know he will receive in the spirit in which I make them.

That is a noble speech. It dates four years ago. I have no doubt the hon. gentleman shares these views still, although not expressed quite in that form. Another quotation a year later nearly, January 12, 1910, he said:

It has been suggested that instead of the organization of a Canadian naval force there should be a system of annual contributions from this country to the mother country; and I am free to admit that, from the strategical point of view I would be inclined to agree with the view of the admiralty that this would be the best way for the great self-governing dominions of the empire to make their contributions. But Sir, from a constitutional and political standpoint I am opposed to it, for many reasons. In the first place I do not believe that it would endure. In the second place it would be a source of friction. It would become a bone of partisan contention.

I am afraid it has got there now.

It would be subject to criticism as to the character and the amount of the contribution in both parliaments. It would not be permanent or continuous. It would conduce, if anything, to severing the present connection between Canada and the empire.

These are terrible consequences associated a little more than three years ago with annual contribution.

Permanent co-operation in defence, in my opinion, can only be accomplished by the use of our own material, the employment of our own people, the development and utilization of our own skill and resourcefulness, and above all by impressing upon the people a sense of responsibility for their share in international affairs.

Mr. Foster's Views.

Now for the third of these noble Romans, speaking of a contribution he said:

The first and greatest objection which I have to a fixed money contribution is that it bears the aspect of hiring somebody else to do what we ourselves ought to do; as though a man, the father of a family, in lusty health and strength, should pay his neighbour something per month for looking after the welfare and

safety of his home instead of doing that duty himself. That seems to me when you work it out, to be a basic objection to this form of aid. It goes still further than that. Suppose you contribute this year your sum, and next year your equal sum, and thereafter year for year, after ten or twelve or twenty or thirty years you will have paid out an immense amount of money.

In Canada itself there will be no roots struck, there will be no residue left, there will be no preparation of the soil or beginning of the growth of the product.

It disjoins what has been joined together from the earliest days of the world's existence—commerce and the protection of commerce.

That method ignores the necessities and the aspirations, and prospects of a great people, such as the Canadian people are destined to become.

However humble the beginning we must have something in which Canada has some of her body, her bones, her blood, her mental power and her national pride.

A Canadian Navy—Ideal in Character.

That ideal of a policy for naval defence suits me exactly. It has history to recommend it. It grapples with the great question of national defence. It appeals to our national pride. It begins as great things have often begun, probably in small beginnings, I know of no better way in which that policy could be expressed, than it was by these gentlemen on that occasion, and let me say, as I said before, that the fact that both sides of the House concurred in it stamps it with additional value. 'Behold how good and pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell together in unity.' On few occasions in the history of Canada have both parties agreed upon what you might call a national policy. When the air was discoloured with inflammatory speeches and the whole public mind disturbed by the political agitation of 1862, 1863, 1864 and 1865, thirty-three leaders of public opinion now known as the Fathers of Confederation from the four provinces of Canada met in the old city of Quebec. They laid down their arms, they shook hands over their differences. For eighteen days they studied, meditated and planned, and out of these meditations grew that magnificent fabric which we call the Dominion of Canada. On this second coronation day, four years ago, the two parties met, they had their differences, and always will have, and perhaps always ought to have in some respects, for we cannot agree on the details, but on the great question which would give to Canada her place in the family of nations and which would give to the British empire an additional source of strength, there was no difference of opinion, no confusion of thought; all were agreed that something should be done. In that unity of purpose there originated in the following year, 1910, the Naval Service Act, to which I shall refer a little later on. I shall not ask questions as to where the Bill before us originated. I do not know. Lord John Russell said, in regard to a small body of schismatics that troubled him in his early political career, that their policy was but the whisper of a faction, a whisper to which I fear, Mr. Borden has paid too much attention.

An Emergency Bill.

The hon. gentleman who opened this debate declared that this was an emergency Bill; declared that the peace of Europe was threatened; declared that for many years the various kingdoms of Europe were plotting in some diabolical and unknown way the ruin of the British Empire, that alarm prevailed throughout the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and that there was occasion for alarm, and he declared that the only way to meet that emergency was

by this Naval Bill. May I be pardoned if I tell my hon. friend that, in my simplicity and without the responsibility of office, if there be an emergency I know a better way of meeting it than by the Naval Bill. It is now on the statute book of this country. It is known as the Naval Service Act of 1910. It is an Act for which hon. gentlemen opposite are as much responsible as we are. So long as it remains on the statute book unrepealed, it is the Act of the party clothed with the responsibility of government, just as much as it was originally the obligation of the party that initiated it. May I be pardoned if I refer to a conversation I had in 1902, with Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. I had the honour of being a guest of Sir Gilbert Parker. Many distinguished noblemen, and statesmen were also guests at his hospitable table. After dinner we retired to the drawing-room and it occurred that Mr. Chamberlain sought me out. I suppose he knew I was Premier of the province of Ontario, and entitled to a little attention. One of the questions he asked me was, 'I understand the Liberal party has been a long while in power in your province. How long?' I said, 'Not very long, we are just in our thirty-first year, that is all.' He said, 'That is too long, you should have been in and out two or three times in that period.' I said, 'That may be, Mr. Chamberlain, but if you happened to be the Premier you would not like your reign cut short just when, for some constitutional reasons, it might be desirable.' He said, 'That is not the point. The point is this: unless there is a change of party, every Act passed in your term of office will be charged against you as the policy of the government in legislation on party grounds. If you retire, the succeeding government will either repeal your legislation or adopt it. If they adopt it, then it is as much theirs as yours. They are responsible for it as you were when you were in power, and instead of being political legislation it becomes national legislation.' A very important constitutional point, and, disclosed to me for the first time. The Act of 1910 is now national legislation. It does not belong to the Liberal party now because we handed it over to the hon. gentlemen when we handed over the seals of office. They have assumed its responsibility because they have not repealed or amended it.

Objections Considered.

1. Now that leads me to consider my first objection to this Bill, namely that it is unnecessary as under the Laurier Act of 1910, all that is proposed to be done under the Bill before us and much more can be done for the defence of the empire. In the first place the Naval Bill provides for a contribution of only thirty-five millions (\$35,000,000), a very generous contribution which we would cheerfully vote if no other consideration were involved. Under the Laurier Act of 1910, now in force, any number of millions could be contributed by parliament if so disposed. Why then harass parliament with a Bill which is not required for emergency purposes and which is not as effective as the Act of 1910. If the hon. gentlemen are sincere in their efforts to meet an emergency, let them withdraw the Bill now before us, and submit to the House a supplementary estimate for ten or fifteen millions for the speedy construction of battle-ships, whether they can be built and then from year to year ask parliament for such additional sums as may be necessary for their com-

pletion, according to the practice of parliament in regard to all larger appropriations. We built the Canadian Pacific railway, put \$100,000,000 into it, but we did not vote one hundred millions when we entered into the contract for its construction. We voted the money from year to year as it was required. That is the constitutional way. That is the principle involved in the resolution in which the House concurred in 1909. We stand now where the House of Commons stood then, and we consider ourselves bound by that resolution. I do not know that a single senator would object if it was proposed, in the regular and parliamentary way, to do that. May I say more, the Bill provides that this money shall be applied in the construction of a certain number of ships. That could be done under the Act of 1910. I am informed that it is the intention to construct three battleships under this Bill. If hon. gentlemen or the government of the day wanted four or five, they could build them wherever they pleased under the Act of 1910.

No Emergency.

If there be an emergency hon. gentlemen can meet it without this Bill just as well as with it. If this Bill should be rejected by the Senate, next day they can bring down a supply Bill appropriating every dollar which this emergency Bill provides, and much more; and we who supported the Act of 1910 and believe in it, would be bound to support any reasonable grant so provided. I do not say any extravagant grant. All that is necessary is the permission of His Royal Highness, concurrence in Committee of Supply, and presentation of the Bill to the Senate. What does the admiralty say on that question?

Hon. gentlemen seem to claim that this Bill is introduced at the request of the admiralty. I am not sure whether my hon. friend said so yesterday or not, so I am not attaching that statement to his name. I have read that report from A to Z, and will quote the last clause, which is as follows:

10. The Prime Minister of the Dominion having inquired in what form any immediate aid that Canada might give would be most effective, we have no hesitation in answering after a prolonged consideration of all the circumstances, that it is desirable that such aid should include—the provision of a certain number of the largest and strongest ships of war which science can build or money supply.

I want to emphasize the word “include.”

The word ‘include’ presupposes something else. Now I am playing the part of mind-reader—there was a certain Act for establishing a navy; the admiralty did not think it quite adequate, and they said—‘We will supplement it; that is, we will include in that permanent navy the construction of a certain number of battleships, the strongest which science can build or money supply,’ I do not think that inference is far fetched; but let it be ever so far fetched the fact still remains, if hon. gentlemen are leaning upon the report of the admiralty, that what they propose to do could be done without their Bill. Let me read from the report of the Admiralty the spirit of the empire, the spirit of the mother country in dealing with this question.

9. Whatever may be the decision of Canada at the present juncture, Great Britain will not in any circumstances fail in her duty to the oversea dominions.

Noble words from the mother of parliaments, from the promoter

of the peace of the world, from the mistress of the seas. The story is told of William Pitt that no one who entered his presence ever retired without being a braver man. I am braver because I have read this report. I ask hon. gentlemen who are not as brave as I am—for my standard is very high—to read on—

“She has before now successfully made head alone and unaided against the most formidable combinations.”

You feel the pulse of patriotism and power in every line of this clause. I think it was Ralph Waldo Emerson who said the pulse of England beats like a trip-hammer. You feel it there, you hear it. I will read on:

She has before now successfully made head alone and unaided against the most formidable combinations and she has not lost her capacity by a wise policy and strenuous exertions to watch over and preserve the vital interests of the Empire.

Our little mother isle, God bless her for her courage and her determination. And here is another sentence:

The Admiralty are assured that His Majesty's Government will not hesitate to ask the House of Commons for whatever provision the circumstances of each year may require. But the aid which Canada could give at the present time is not to be measured only in ships or money. Any action on the part of Canada to increase the power and mobility of the Imperial navy, and thus widen the margin of our common safety, would be recognized everywhere as a most significant witness to the united strength of the Empire, and to the renewed resolve of the overseas dominions to take their part in maintaining its integrity.

There is a word there I want to repeat:

The Admiralty are assured that His Majesty's Government will not hesitate to ask the House of Commons for whatever provision the circumstances of each year may require.

No dis-union; the Admiralty and House of Commons all one in the defence of the empire; that is the position in which we should be to-day. The Senate, the House of Commons, all the physical and financial forces of Canada, one in the defence of Canada and the defence of the Empire. And from what I have read you will see that there is no demand upon Canada for this aid. Britain unaided, alone, can cope with her enemies or with any combination of them. Now let me point out some objections to the present Navy Bill which appear on the surface.

Second Objection.

2. My second objection to the Bill is that the control of the ships when constructed is removed from the Government of Canada and placed at the disposal of His Majesty under such “terms, conditions and arrangements as may be agreed upon by the Governor-in-Council and His Majesty's Government.” Now I cannot understand why ships built at the expense of Canada should be subject to an agreement of this kind. More than eighty years ago we escaped from the control of Downing Street and since then have enjoyed responsible Government and all the privileges included in that comprehensive term. Now we are returning to a condition of things in which the full control of our Navy, or at least so much of it as pertains to the battleships to be constructed under the Bill, is lost.

Suppose that these ships were placed at the disposal of His Majesty and either the Admiralty or the Canadian Government desired a rearrangement of those terms and conditions, is there not the

greatest danger of friction between Canada and the British Government? I think that is self-evident. Further, may I ask my hon. friend if he has thought out this constitutional difficulty? Under the British North America Act, clause 91, Canada is given exclusive power over militia and naval defence. Clause 91 of that act says:

The exclusive legislative authority of the parliament of Canada extends to all matters coming within the classes of subjects next herein before enumerated, that is to say—(7) militia military, and naval service and defence.

We have under that Act, exclusive jurisdiction. I ask my hon. friend is he going to take the responsibility of surrendering part of the authority conferred upon the parliament of Canada by the British North America Act? We are giving over part of that authority when we agree to make conditions with His Majesty's government as to how this money shall be paid, used and applied. Has my hon. friend any authority to surrender part of that power? I do not think he has. It could only be surrendered by an amendment to the British North America Act. What we have we hold. What we have we cannot part with. It is ours to use, not to dispose of. Why should we delegate the power exclusively conferred on us. Let me take the converse of that—has the British Government the power to take over, by order in council, any of the powers conferred upon the parliament of Canada by the British North America Act? I do not think they have. In my judgment they could only constitutionally take over this power by an amendment to that Act. So I say we have two constitutional anomalies or defects in the Navy Bill—That Canada, beyond her right to do so, is surrendering part of her power, and the other, that the British government is getting power which she has no right to. Now, I am not afraid of the British government; for that matter I am not afraid of any government, if we only keep upon the watch-tower. But if you allow these innovations and concessions, where will they land you?

I am not going to set up very high standards of autonomy for anybody, nor am I going to be fastidious in regard to the exact claims of responsible government. There may be emergencies when we have to yield a little here and there. Indeed if there were no other way of meeting the present difficulties of defence, I would perhaps forego, if there were a real emergency, some of my convictions upon both points, because in danger everything must give way. There is no emergency in this case, so that we are not required to give away or surrender any of our constitutional rights.

No Permanent Navy.

The Bill before us does not provide for a permanent Naval force. To use the words of Mr. Foster "there are no bones in it, at least no Canadian bones, or flesh or blood or mental attitude. It is so many empty shells, a painted ship on a painted ocean so far as Canada is concerned." To quote Mr. Borden again in his speech on January 12th, 1910:

"I do not believe that it could endure. It would not be permanent or continuous."

3. The Bill makes no provision for training men for the Naval Service. One of the difficulties of the British Admiralty is to man the ships already built. Mr. Borden proposes to build a certain number

of the most powerful battleships known in the British service, apparently without considering that such ships, no matter how powerful, would be of no use unless fully manned. Under the Laurier Act of 1910 provision was made for the training of men on board training ships, and in Naval schools and colleges, so that the ships, as soon as constructed, would be prepared to go to sea and fill their place in the naval defence of Canada and the Empire as the case might be. Moreover, provision was also made for the establishment of a Naval service, the establishment of naval forces, dockyards, naval yards, factories, rifle and gun ranges, that is, as fully an equipment for a Canadian Navy on a smaller scale of course, as the Admiralty provides for the British Navy. Was there ever a policy conceived so short-sighted and so ineffective as that contained in the Borden Naval Bill?

Nothing to Offer.

In a case of an emergency, the Borden Bill has nothing to offer for the defence of the Empire except the empty shells which may be constructed in British Navy yards. In the Act of 1910 Canada could offer the full fighting force of her navy. Section 23 provides as follows:

"In case of emergency the Governor-in-Council may place at the disposal of His Majesty for general service in the Royal Navy, the naval service of any part thereof, any ship or vessel of the naval service and the officers and seamen serving in such ships or vessels or any officer or ship belonging to the naval service."

In the one case you place ships only and in the other case what do you place? You place at the general service of the Royal Navy the officers and seamen serving in such ships or vessels, or any officers or seamen belonging to the naval service. In the one case you send three empty shells, clad in steel for the defence of the empire. What would they accomplish? In the other case you send your battleships, manned with the best blood, and muscle, and courage and seamanship that Canada can produce? That is what you do. There is the great difference. What would these empty shells accomplish floating like the froth of the sea—a prey to the enemy, useless for all practical purposes, unless the ship by some instinct of its own, without a man on deck, could rush to the firing line and discharge its guns, and I do not think it will do that.

It has been said that under the Laurier Act of 1910 it would be necessary to call parliament together to place the Canadian navy at the disposal of the Admiralty and this even in an emergency, the Laurier navy had a string to it by which its use for the common defence of the empire could be restrained. This is a palpable misrepresentation of the Laurier Act. Under the clause I have read, the Governor-in-Council may place at the disposal of His Majesty the whole Canadian navy in a case of an emergency. That could be done in 24 hours, but by the next section of the Laurier Act if the Canadian navy was placed at the disposal of His Majesty, parliament was to be called within fifteen days. For what purpose? To provide the necessary supplies, of course. Before parliament was called the navy could be two weeks in active service, but its maintenance in active service would be dependent upon the later action of parliament.

Section 24 reads:

Whenever the Governor-in-Council places the naval service or any part thereof on active service, as provided in the two preceding sections, if Parliament is then separated by such adjournment or prorogation as will not expire within ten days, a proclamation shall issue for a meeting of Parliament within fifteen days, and Parliament shall accordingly meet and sit upon the day appointed by such proclamation, and shall continue to sit in like manner as if it had stood adjourned or prorogued to the same day.

Constitutional Practice.

Now, this is the practice of the British parliament when war is declared. The King may declare war and has the right to do so under the British constitution. Should this be done, parliament is immediately called to furnish the necessary supplies. Why should we depart in this case from a well established constitutional practice? If the parliament of Great Britain sees fit by controlling supplies to restrain a passionate King, or an impulsive government, from rushing heedlessly into war, why should not the parliament of Canada exercise a similar control over the government?

The Borden Bill proposes to take a vote of thirty-five millions in one lump sum for the construction of the proposed battleships, while the practice of Parliament is to vote from year to year as much money as may be required for one year's service.

What is the constitutional law? The constitutional law is that parliament cannot take any appropriation for more than one year. The law as to appropriation is the same as the law as to mutiny. Soldiers are enlisted for one year, and that Act has to be renewed from time to time, to keep them in the service. Parliament can give an appropriation for one year. I ask my hon. friend to inquire if he can find a precedent in the history of England in which parliament gave three years' supplies on any subject to the government of the day. I will put it to him in another form. I may be wrong, but I do not think I am. Can he find a precedent in the history of Canada where parliament placed three years' supply on any subject, or for any purpose, at the disposal of the government in advance? There is no necessity for it. Let me revert to our action in building the Canadian Pacific Railway. In the contract for the construction of that railway, parliament was asked to appropriate twenty-five millions (25,000,000) acres of land and twenty-five millions (\$25,000,000) in money. Did the Minister of Railways ask parliament to vote the whole appropriation at one time? Certainly not, but following the parliamentary rule he took from year to year as much money as was necessary for the service of that year in the annual estimates. It has been the same with the National Transcontinental Railway and the Welland Canal, and the same with any public work which hon. gentlemen are now engaged in building. The constitutional principle of placing money at the disposal of the government many years in advance is wrong.

Now let me briefly enquire what has been done under the Laurier Act of 1910, which Mr. Borden has so blindly overlooked. The royal assent was given to that Act on the 4th of May, 1910. In the meantime a vote of Three million (\$3,000,000.) dollars was taken for the purchase of training ships, and for their maintenance during the fiscal year 1910-11. By that vote two ships were purchased and put into commission and about 500 seamen enrolled for training. Tenders were called for additional ships, but as they

were not received until after Parliament was dissolved, Mr. Laurier decided to delay action till the result of the election fixed for September 1911, was ascertained.

When Mr. Borden took office in October 1911, he found the tenders waiting for consideration, but declined to carry out the Laurier policy which was, that one or more ships should be built in Canada, according to the tenders submitted. Considering that Mr. Laurier was only in office about a year after the Act of 1910 was passed, it may be fairly said that he showed reasonable activity in carrying out the Act. Mr. Borden has been in office now for nearly twenty (20) months and the only result of his efforts to provide for the defence of the Empire was this emergency Bill, which we are now considering, and Closure to force it through the House of Commons. Had he proceeded under the Act of 1910 we might now have at least the nucleus of a promising Canadian Navy.

In his speech on January 12th, 1910, he said:

"I say to my Right Honourable friend, the Prime Minister, so far as my words have any weight with him: do not forget that we are confronted with an emergency which may rend this empire asunder before the proposed service is worthy the name. In the face of such a situation, immediate, vigorous, earnest action is necessary."

Notice this was in January 1910, In September 1911, his party triumphed at the polls and for nearly two years, his hands have hung listlessly by his side and the Empire which was to be rent in twain unless something was done is as much exposed to danger as ever. Is that the way to deal with an emergency?

5. The Borden Bill does not provide for the maintenance of the ships which it proposes to build. Under the Laurier policy the Canadian Navy, whether in the service of Canada or Great Britain, in a case of an emergency, is to be maintained at the expense of the Canadian treasury.

What a policy for the administration of Canada. Empty shells, nothing in them, not even the powder and shot, to be maintained by the British Government. Poor impoverished, empty, pureless Canada sends to Great Britain three empty shells and asks Britain to man them and maintain them at the expense of the British taxpayers, while Canada sits back and keeps out of the way of all harm, ties up her purse strings and says to the British taxpayer. 'Here, these are beautiful ships, made in the best shipyards in the country. If you want them to fight, man them yourselves. These guns will not go off of their own accord. We have no money to spend for maintenance, and if we have, we won't give it to you.'

6. There is no provision in the Borden Bill for defending the commerce of Canada on the high seas or defending its coasts against hostile invasion.

What would be the consequences if three German fast cruisers came to our coast? One would bottle up the St. Lawrence as tight as any brewer man ever bottled up his ale, and not a Canadian ship could get in or out. Another would bottle up the entrance to by the Bay of Fundy which is only fifteen miles wide. Another would bottle up the entrance to Sydney, and that is all the entrances we have open and we would have to go through Portland, New York, or Boston to reach the mother country. More than that, we have a trade of four hundred million of money between Canada and European and British

nations, and that trade could be hunted by German cruisers, and there is not a Canadian cruiser to fire a shot to prevent them. The Alabama in 1862 played havoc with United States commerce, from what it has not yet recovered from it since. Two ships at that time did it all. It would not require more than two ships to destroy our commerce, yet we have no defence, and that is a difficulty in the Bill which I hope hon. gentlemen will consider.

Defence on Land.

We are providing this year in the Militia Department for an expenditure of \$10,000,000, for the land defence of Canada. So far as Naval defence either of commerce or the coast is concerned there is to this hour not a single dollar promised in the Supply Bill. If it is important to be protected on land, it is equally important to be protected at sea? How can we support a Bill that overlooks entirely such protection? We could at least begin the construction of dockyards and shipyards and such other establishments as might be required for a Canadian Navy as was proposed under the Laurier Act with a view to the final construction of a Canadian Navy, but all this is overlooked as if Canadian home defence was a matter of no consequence. What would you think if an engineer who in constructing a bridge over a river would build a strong abutment at one end and allow the other end of the bridge to rest on the sand? Figuratively we are building a bridge for the defence of the Empire. The British end is strong now and I do not object to increasing its strength, but the Canadian end of the bridge is weak. It has no foundation. Such bridge building could not be defended for one moment, as a sample of good engineering. It is equally indefensible as a sample of Naval defence.

Let me give another illustration. Would it be wise in building an armoured ship to place all the armour on one side? That is practically what we are doing under the Borden Naval policy. The British side of this armoured ship is well plated now and we are adding to its strength, while the Canadian side has not an armour plate to protect its ribs from the first broadside of the enemy. Is that good naval engineering? I think it is not.

My hon. friend said yesterday, if Canada is to be of assistance to the Empire in naval defence, to deliberately talk of building a navy in Canada is an insult to Great Britain.' It is the only observation he made during the whole speech to which I would take very strong exception. I am bound to say that, to my mind, the language is very objectionable—I will not use a stronger word. Can it be possible that it is an insult to Great Britain for us to build a permanent navy? Is it possible that we cannot get the skilled men to do it? Are we less advanced in engineering skill than Japan that only issued fifty years ago from eastern barbarism, or than Australia, or old decrepit Spain, who long ago reached her zenith, or Italy, or Austria-Hungary. Surely my hon. friend does not entertain the idea that to build a Canadian navy would be an insult to Great Britain or anybody else. I have confidence that a country that has the administration of one-third of the extent of the British empire, is able to do anything it chooses to do. As Tennyson says:

We sailed wherever ship can sail,
We founded many a mighty state,
Pray heaven our greatness may not fail,
Through craven fear of being great.

An Insult to Britain.

Emerson said, 'Hitch your wagon to a star' if you are going to rise. To what does my hon. friend hitch his wagon? Or does he hitch it at all? He stands passively by and says it will be an insult to Great Britain if we attempt to build a Canadian navy. Britain did not say that with regard to the Act of 1910. It was approved of by His Majesty's government. If it had been an insult to Great Britain the British Government would not have assented to it, they would have thrown it in the waste paper basket. Let us not depreciate ourselves. No good can come to a man who sits in sack-cloth and ashes in self-abasement and humiliation, crying out against the fates that made his position severe. The man who takes his marching orders from some prophet or seer, or great leader, is the man who keeps up with the procession. I hope no member of the Senate will entertain the idea that we cannot build ships. Mr. Borden, the leader of the government had no such idea at one time. Listen to what he said in Halifax on the 14th day of November, 1909:

One governing principle, at least, should control, namely, that out of our own materials, by our own labour, and by the instructed skill of our own people any necessary provision for our naval defence should be made so far as may be reasonably possible. In this connection may we not hope that there shall be given a stimulus and encouragement to the shipbuilding industry of Canada which has long been lacking. To-day should be Nova Scotia's opportunity in that regard. Providence has endowed this province with the material, with the men, and with the maritime situation, which are essential not only for developing a scheme of naval defence and protection, but also for the resuscitation of that shipbuilding industry which once made Nova Scotia famous throughout the world.

Did he say it would be an insult to Great Britain, if Canada built a navy? Who stands on the highest plane? The man who leads the government in the other House or my hon. friend who is ill-advised in using such a term. I know it is not his conviction. He rose himself to a high position of wealth and influence just because he had the courage to seize opportunities as they rose, and he is worthy of the honour he has gained, but let him not tell the Senate that to place a Canadian navy at the disposal of Great Britain would be an insult.

Fundamental Principles.

Let me lay down two or three fundamental principles in connection with this matter. The first fundamental principle is that nothing will live or thrive in the life or institutions of Canada, or of any country, that does not appeal to national sentiment. That is fundamental. You cannot build up a country, no matter what it is, except on that foundation. It is true of China to-day, is it true of Japan, it has been true of England for one thousand years. Britannia rules the waves, why? Because she has the sentiment that that is her business, and that nobody else has a right to interfere with that prerogative. And the sentiment of the British empire is that she is to be defended at all hazards, no matter where she is assailed. She will fight her Waterloo in the face of a combined Europe if necessary. She will fight her battles in the Soudan against sixty thousand of the Mahdi's followers. She will keep in hand two hundred and forty millions in India, because nobody dare question her authority now, as they did sometime ago? Why. It is the national sentiment that she was born to rule, not only to rule the waves, but to dominate the whole

world by her Christian spirit, by her toleration. And there is more British flesh and blood governing the chancellories of Europe, governing the modern kingdoms of this world to-day, than there is of the flesh and blood of any other people born upon this rounded globe.

National Sentiment.

The constitution of the United States is founded on the Magna Charta. I think ten of its clauses included almost verbatim et literatim, and that great republic thinks it founded itself. It got its fundamental principles of liberty and its constitution from where? It got them from England—could not get them from anywhere else, although liberty was on trial itself at that time. We must have a national sentiment. It was that which made confederation. My hon. friend knows that we entered upon our career four little provinces, three million of hope and an area of 800 thousand square miles, forty-six years ago, just a day shall I say in the life of a nation, and where are we? We are administering one-third of the British empire. Was ever such a trust committed to a people? Is there any kingdom of Europe that handed over exclusive jurisdiction, to its subjects upon which the King himself cannot encroach. Our constitution gives more power in this parliament in some respects to the people of Canada than the constitution gives to Great Britain, because the King can veto the legislation of the House of Commons and the House of Lords, but the King cannot veto the legislation of our parliament. He gives us exclusive power in a contract, signed by the sign manuel of Her Majesty the Queen. That is extraordinary power; we have it. Let us, in promoting the naval defence of the empire, do it in such a way as to promote the national sentiment. We have to begin in a small way. The British navy is said to be founded in the days of Cromwell, 300 years ago, one of the many good things Cromwell did for the British Empire, and he taught that Kings could not trample on the rights of their subjects. He taught the British empire, after Von Tromp had nailed a broom to the mast and declared that he would sweep British commerce from the sea, that there was a time for beginning, and he began and all along the line from that day to the battle of Trafalgar, the British navy has asserted itself. Let us begin. Mr. Borden in one of his speeches in the House of Commons advised Sir Wilfrid Laurier to proceed slowly and cautiously. Let us begin, first the blade, then the ear, then the full grown corn in the ear. There is not a blade to be seen in this measure. Is has the barrenness of Sahara.

A Hireling Policy.

I do not believe in a hireling policy.

I do not believe we should ask people to fight our battles for us. What did we do in the case of the war in South Africa? The case is in point. Did we send a contribution to buy horses, mules, rifles and uniforms in order that Great Britain might hold her position and establish herself in South Africa? We sent nearly 6,000 men to South Africa. Was there any sentiment in that? What sentiment would there be in rifles or uniforms, or horses and mules? When the war was over they would be consigned to the scrap heap. But in that war in South Africa there was a sentiment and some one has said, 'In South Africa Canada found herself.' We found that we had the

power and the enthusiasm, and courage to fight the battles of the empire, and we went and fought them hand to hand, and knee to knee with those who pulled down the flag from Johannesburg, and who would have pulled it down from Ladysmith and Pretoria. We left on the veldt of Africa 225 Canadians, who sleep in their little green tents, whose curtain will never be drawn aside. The son of one of our most beloved Governor-Generals sleeps with them, another son of our own ministers of militia and a son of the commander-in-chief, the noblest Roman of them all, left his only son as a sacrifice to the solidarity of the British Empire. We share in its glory, we share in its honour and we share in the results. We now celebrate the victory. We have a Paardeburg celebration every year, and they sit, these returned soldiers, around the camp fires, and tell what they did and the results achieved. We took three Victoria Crosses to Canada from South Africa. How many Victoria Crosses are you going to get from these empty shells? How many stories will be told of how Horatius kept the bridge in the brave days of old, if we do nothing more vital or more British in defending the empire than to send them these powerful—notice the term—‘the most powerful’—powerless, I would say—‘the most powerful armoured cruisers of the most modern and powerful type.’ Dead, inanimate armour-plate? Dead and as inanimate as the dry bones that Ezekiel saw, in which no breath of life existed.

Unity of Purpose.

The second fundamental principle I would lay down is that no great career is possible for a nation without unity of purpose. Confederation is a unit. The thirteen colonies arranged their constitution finally in 1787 and bound themselves by solemn contract to stand together. What was the cause of its extension from Maine to California. The sentiment of the people of the United States to found a great republic, to make them as puissant on this continent as Great Britain was on the other continent, and that sentiment, so pervaded them that under no circumstances would they allow that union to be broken up. In the civil war they spent three billions of money, and one million of men died upon the plains of Shiloh and at Gettysburg, and elsewhere, and what for? They laid down their lives that the climax of Webster’s speech in reply to Heine might be realized. What did he say? ‘Liberty and union, one and inseparable now and forever,’ and that cry rang through the United States as they mustered forces for the civil war. The union must not be broken up, the slave must be free and on the 1st of January, 1863, the shackles fell off four million slaves. It was the language of Daniel Webster that accomplished that end—it was liberty and union. It made a united republic and freed the slaves. Mr. Borden, in Toronto, said that I was a good imperialist, and would probably support the Navy Bill; it is because I am a good imperialist that I do not support his Navy Bill. Mr. Borden is a separatist. He says himself that this Bill is going to cause friction between Canada and the empire. I want no friction. He says it may lead to the separation of Canada from the empire: I want no separation. I want to see Canada and the empire one and inseparable, now and forever, and that is my wish for the future of the empire. I am no separatist, I may be an imperialist. Where do I

get my imperialism? In that charter to which I referred a little while ago, the British North America Act, we find it. Do we realize what it contains? It may be studied in the light of one hundred years of British history, and every page will furnish a lesson. What does the preamble say?

Whereas the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

An Imperialist.

There is where I am. I belong to the Province of Ontario, federally united with the other provinces of Canada under the Crown. How can I be anything else but an imperialist? If I were not an imperialist I would be in favour of independence, but never in favour of annexation. As long as we are federally united under the Crown, so long I cannot help being an imperialist, if I am true to my obligation. The preamble proceeds:

With a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom.

The constitution of England has kept together her colonies for two hundred years or more. It has led to the union of England and Scotland and Ireland; it has kept the British empire together with a palladium of civil and religious liberty. Nowhere is the atmosphere so pure, nowhere is a man's home so much his castle, nowhere can a man walk so erect, and lift his forehead to the stars as in the British empire. That is why I am an imperialist. I could point to a dozen paragraphs in that Act to show where the principle prevails, that we are united federally, not separated, under the Crown of the Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and if, as Mr. Borden says, it is possible that a contribution would lead to friction. I do not want a contribution. If it is possible it may lead to separation, I do not want it; I want union. I want to carry out the principles of the British North America Act. I want to see Canada do her share in her own defence and in defence of the empire. Now at the risk of some repetition I am going to state why I am opposed to the present Bill. First, because it is unnecessary and of no possible use. It is absolutely of no use. My second objection is that it establishes a line of cleavage in defence between the two parties. Get rid of it and there is but one policy. Third, because it does not provide for the defence of Canada directly. Fourth, because if passed it might lead to friction with Britain. Fifth, because we have no evidence that it meets with public approval. Sixth, because it introduces a new practice in legislation not sanctioned by the usages of this constitution. Seventh, because it removes from the free control of Canada one of its effective elements of national defence, the three battleships proposed.

Where the Senate Stands.

That is why I am opposed to the Bill. Where does the Senate of Canada stand?

It stands for the defence of the Empire, from Australia to the Pole. Not on the North sea alone, but on every sea where the British flag floats in time of danger. I hope we are all agreed on that.

Secondly, we stand for as many battleships of the most modern type as are required; at any rate to the limit of our resources. The Bill does not do that.

Thirdly we stand for a permanent Canadian navy to guard our coast and trade routes and commerce with Great Britain, and all other nations at peace with the empire.

Fourthly we stand for the construction of a navy and shipyards, using for that purpose the product of Canadian industry and building it by the industry of our people.

Fifthly, we stand for the training of our own seamen in naval schools and colleges, and on board training ships, so that when our ships go out to sea they will represent Canadian blood and bone and flesh, and sentiment. The bill does not provide for that.

Sixthly, we stand for placing our ships at the disposal of the King in case of emergency, or at any time, at the expense of Canada, and not at the expense of the British tax-payer; our hearts, hopes and money to go with the ships wherever they are called to fight for the integrity of the empire.

Seventhly, we stand for co-operation with His Majesty's dominions beyond the sea in forming one solid phalanx if need be, with all the powers they represent, in the defence of Britain for the peace of the world.

Eighthly, we stand for unity and defence if the emergency arises, and we do not propose to question the wisdom of the admiralty as to how or where that emergency has arisen, or with whom or why we are called upon to fight for the empire. If you can get any better foundation I will go with you, and I will stand on a stronger platform than my own if you build me one. We want to be in the strongest position and we want to do that in perfect independence. I regret that the premier in his address at Toronto made some remarks regarding the Senate, which I do not think were called for. He said:

Borden on the Senate.

For the present, however, I deprecate the assertion made in many Liberal quarters, that the majority of the Canadian Senate is merely an echo of a discredited minority in the House of Commons.

I do not believe it.

Whenever Sir Wilfrid Laurier pulls the strings the Liberal senators will dance as he desires.

I am sorry to say there is one Liberal senator who cannot dance.

There are many men of high character and intelligence among the Liberal senators, and I entirely decline to believe that their action would be thus unworthily controlled.

Otherwise I would be prepared to declare that the Canadian Senate, as at present constituted, had thoroughly outlived its usefulness, and that an immediate remedy must be sought and found. The Senate is an important part of our constitutional machinery and is entitled to every respect, but it is not, never was, and never will be above the Canadian people.

Who said it was? We do not assume to be above the Canadian people. The House of Commons is not above the Canadian people. I have seen in my short time four Houses of Commons put out of doors and it may happen again. And it is a good thing for the House of Commons on certain occasions. And why? Because the people were above them. The sovereignty of the people is above the House of Commons. When he talks about reconstituting the Senate, what does he propose to do? We will live as long as we can. The hand that fills the Senate empties it; does he want an elective Senate? He has not proposed one. Let him not shoot his darts in the air. We were

not here to suit any premier or any leader of the opposition or any body else. We are to do our own sweet will according to our judgment and good conscience. To say that we are an echo, is an offensive term.

Hon. GENTLEMEN: Hear, hear.

Is the Senate an Echo?

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS (Middlesex): A very offensive term. Was my hon. friend opposite an echo before 1896—I think he was in the House about that time, was he an echo? I think probably some hon. gentlemen who sit around me were in the House before 1896, before the Liberal government came into power. Were they echoes? I do not think they were, and I would be ashamed of my colleagues if I thought they were an echo of any voice except of that justice and propriety. Perhaps it might be interesting now to know what is the final decision of this House in regard to this Bill. I think it is probable that I shall move a resolution before I sit down, that the consideration of this Bill be deferred for sometime in the future. I do not think it will be any good at any time. I do not think it is any good at all just now. It may be revamped. It may be recast; it may be rehabilitated. If it turns up in some other form that is reasonably acceptable, we shall take it and be glad to help it. It is not an uncommon thing for Bills to be deferred. The terms of my resolution are well known to this House. When I was here in 1910, I remember the hon. leader of the House moving a resolution in these terms:

That all the words after the first word "that" be struck out and the following inserted: This House is not justified in giving its assent to this Bill until it is submitted to the judgment of the people.

Hon. GENTLEMEN: Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS (Middlesex): In 1910 he wanted to get the judgment of the people. Perhaps he knows what is the judgment of the people. He wanted to get the judgment of the people on a Bill founded on strictly parliamentary principles. Would it be unreasonable that we should ask the judgment of the people upon a Bill that has not a sound parliamentary principle in it from clause 1 to clause 6?—and it contains six clauses, all bad. Are we to blame? I think the Hon. Mr. Borden moved in 1910 that the Naval Bill be submitted also to the judgment of the people. Was he at fault in regard to the Naval Bill of 1910? If we take the Naval Bill of 1913 and submit it to the people, or propose that we should get the judgment of the people—are we to blame? I do not think so. I think Mr. Borden said in his speech at Montreal—I have not had time to look it up—that he would submit his Bill to parliament and if parliament rejected it he would appeal to the people. I have no concern whether he does or not. I have no concern with the political side of the question; but I have this concern, that I do sincerely hope that any legislation we may approve of in this House is in harmony with public opinion, whether that public opinion is represented in the other House by a Liberal or Conservative government.

Hon. GENTLEMEN: Hear, hear.

Public Opinion.

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS (Middlesex) The moment a Bill comes before us in regard to which public opinion is uncertain, or in regard

to which there has been no expression of it, then I think we are justified in trying to find what that public opinion is.

Hon. GENTLEMEN: Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS (Middlesex) Now, will any harm come? And here is the point where I had some difficulty in reconciling myself to this position. Would any harm come? Suppose there is an emergency and this Bill is rejected to-day; to-morrow morning hon. gentlemen can provide for that emergency just as easily as they could if we passed the Bill and the Governor General signed it.

Hon. GENTLEMEN: Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. CLORAN: And better.

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS (Middlesex). The Bill does not help the emergency one iota. It is utterly useless for that purpose. The old Act of 1910 is fully capable of meeting an emergency or any other condition of things—war, insurrection, invasion or anything. So when we ask the Bill to stand over we are hurting nobody. Let me say, too, if there was no other way of helping the empire—if there was an emergency—I am afraid I would have to vote for this Bill, for we cannot allow the empire to fall, no matter what happens.

Hon. GENTLEMEN: Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS. I do not think it is in danger, but if parliament had no other authority than the present Naval Bill to help it, then I would have to consider seriously whether I should reject such a Bill. To reject it means nothing to the empire, but to reject it means a great deal to Canada. Sentiment, construction of a navy at home, employment of our skilled workmen, the inspiration of doing something for ourselves instead of hiring somebody else to do it. So I propose to follow the course pursued by my hon. friend in 1910. I am just going to do as he did. I am going to follow the course pursued by Mr. Borden in 1910. I am going to do as Mr. Borden said in his speech in Montreal he would do if there was any necessity for it. I am going to take the advice that Mr. Borden gave to Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1910—if parliament did not approve of the Bill, to appeal to the people. That is the position I propose to take. How I shall be supported remains to be seen. There is another point. The hon. member claimed that he had a mandate for this Bill. I do not know on that point. I am a little short of information. As far as I can recall the election of 1911—for I was out of the country very shortly after it took place—I think this was the situation: The Naval Bill was not discussed except in the Province of Quebec. I think I am right in that.

Hon. MEMBERS: Yes. No.

No Mandate.

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS. One member outside of the Province of Quebec admitted that the naval question was not an issue in the last election. Thirty-eight members supported the Laurier policy from the Province of Quebec, so that province did not give any mandate for a change of policy. Will hon. gentlemen bear in that mind? And if they did not get the mandate from the Province of Quebec they got it from nobody, because the matter was not discussed in any other province. As I understand it, there is no mandate for this Bill; and if you will allow me to say it, there are times when we do not care whether there is a mandate or not. In an emergency we would not

want a mandate. There was no mandate for sending volunteers to South Africa. It was confirmed later, but there was no mandate in advance. Necessity, as I said before, has no law. There is no mandate; there is no emergency; or if there is an emergency we can do without the Bill. Let us wait, and let the people of Canada say whether they believe in a permanent navy or in a contribution.

Hon. GENTLEMEN: Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS (Middlesex). If they want this contribution they shall have it, so far as I am concerned, should I have a seat in the Senate.

Hon. GENTLEMEN: Hear, hear.

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS (Middlesex). There is nothing to stop the chariot wheels of the sovereign people. This Senate will not stop them so far as I am concerned. They must go on from stage to stage, and parliaments must give way for them, and houses of lords must give way for the people, and kings must lay down their heads upon the block that the sovereignty of the people might be supreme. What should we do? Find out what that is, and obey that mandate. If the twentieth century is to see the full fruition of the labour of those who laid the foundation of our Dominion and planned the superstructure which should be the glory of the nations, every measure which affects its dignity or which represents its purpose should be proportioned to the ideals of its founders. I have a great respect for the fathers of Confederation; we do not think enough about them. We are no longer infants in the night crying for the light. The day of things is past and gone. We are no longer walking timorously the path of destiny; our pulse beats stronger and our step is firmer, for the strength of young manhood is in our loins.

Hon. GENTLEMEN: Hear, hear.

Duty of Canada.

Hon. Sir GEORGE ROSS (Middlesex). Not by shrinking from the responsibility of man's estate, not by listening to the feeble voice of mediocrity, not by cloudbursts of patriotic emotion will Canada be admitted into the family of nations. It is for the statesmen of to-day to set the pace for the next generation as well as for the present and to give the national character an impulse which will fire it with a new born enthusiasm for higher national ideals. Is there anything, I ask, in this Bill to produce that effect? Shall our children of twenty years hence read the history of our naval defence and cover their faces when they discover that it was proposed in the Senate of Canada to place at the disposal of the British admiralty a certain number of modern ships, the best that science could device or money pay for, but not a single Canadian to man them? When we joined with the other dominions to fight for the empire in South Africa we did not send empty uniforms. Uniforms were sent, to be sure, but there were 5,847 courageous Canadians inside of them. It was not Nelson's ships that won the battle of Trafalgar. Nelson did not say, "England expects this day that every ship will do its duty." Nelson said, "England expects that every man will do his duty." This Bill calls for money, not men; for models of steel and iron; not for models of courage and daring; it appeals to no man's flesh and blood; it offers no Victoria crosses for lives rescued on the battlefield from the sabres of the enemy. Empty as an exploded cartridge, and soulless as its

plated sides, it arouses no sympathy, no sentiment, no emotion of joy or glory. Should a Bill like this be submitted for the assent of a royal scion whose ancestors for many generations honoured the British constitution as the palladium of liberty and self-government Our feelings, our judgment, our sense of duty to our country, all combine to ask for further delay in the hope that even at this late hour we may show to the whole world that the disrupting forces of party warfare have been submerged by the loyalty of a united nation in the naval defence of Canada and the empire.

I beg to move, seconded by Hon. Mr. Bostock, in amendment to the motion for the second reading of this Bill:

That all the words after the first word "that" be struck out and the following substituted:—"This House is not justified in giving its assent to this Bill until it is submitted to the judgment of the country.

MR. BORDEN'S NAVY BILL.

BILL 21.

AS PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 15TH MAY, 1913.

AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE MEASURES FOR INCREASING THE EFFECTIVE
NAVAL FORCES OF THE EMPIRE

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as *The Naval Aid Act*.
2. From and out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada there may be paid and applied a sum not exceeding thirty-five million dollars for the purpose of immediately increasing the effective naval forces of the Empire.
3. The said sum shall be used and applied under the direction of the Governor-in-Council in the construction and equipment of battleships or armoured cruisers of the most modern and powerful type.
4. The said ships when constructed and equipped shall be placed by the Governor-in-Council at the disposal of His Majesty for the common defence of the Empire.
5. The said sum shall be paid, used and applied and the said ships shall be constructed and placed at the disposal of His Majesty subject to such terms, conditions and arrangements as may be agreed upon between the Governor-in-Council and His Majesty's Government.
6. A detailed statement of the sums expended under the authority of this Act for the then last preceding fiscal year shall be laid before the House of Commons during the first fifteen days of each session of Parliament.

Short title
\$35,000,000
authorized to
increase the
naval forces
of the
Empire.

To be used
to construct
battleships
or cruisers.

Ships to be
for the
common
defence of
the Empire.

Terms to be
arranged
with Imperial
Government.
Statement of
expenditure
to be laid
before House
of Commons.

APPENDIX

*Sections of Act of 1910 referred to in Speech of
Sir George Ross.
9-10 EDWARD VII.*

CHAP. 43.

An Act respecting the Naval Service of Canada.

[Assented to 4th May, 1910.]

HIS MAJESTY, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows.

SHORT TITLE.

1. The Act may be cited as *The Naval Service Act*.

INTERPRETATION.

2. In this Act, and in any regulations made hereunder, unless the context otherwise requires,—

Over

(d) "emergency" means war, invasion or insurrection, real or apprehended;
(g) "naval establishment" includes officers' quarters, barracks, dockyards, victualling yards, naval yards, factories, rifle and gun ranges, naval colleges, and all other buildings, works and premises under the control of the Minister, constructed or set apart for the Naval Service;

(h) "Naval Forces" means those naval forces organized for the defence and protection of the Canadian coasts and trade, or engaged as the Governor-in-Council may from time to time direct;

(i) "Naval Service" includes His Majesty's service in respect of all naval affairs of which by this Act the Minister is given the control and management, and also the Fisheries' Protection Service, Hydrographic Survey, tidal observations on the coasts of Canada, and wireless telegraph service;

4. The Command in Chief of the Naval Forces is declared to continue and be vested in the King, and shall be exercised and administered by His Majesty, or by the Governor-General as His representative.

7. The Minister shall have the control and management of all naval affairs, including the purchase, maintenance and repair of the ordnance, ammunition, arms, armouries, stores, munitions, and habiliments of war intended for the use of the Naval Service.

8. The Minister shall have the control and management, including the construction, purchase, maintenance and repair, of naval establishments and of ships and other vessels for the Naval Service.

11. Governor-in-Council may organize and maintain a permanent naval force.

19. The Naval Reserve Force shall consist of such persons as join the said reserve after naval service or after undergoing such training as may be prescribed. All members of the said reserve shall be liable to active service upon an emergency.

22. The Governor-in-Council may place the Naval Forces or any part thereof, on active service at any time when it appears advisable so to do by reason of an emergency.

23. In case of an emergency the Governor-in-Council may place at the disposal of His Majesty, for general service in the Royal Navy, the Naval Service or any part thereof, any ships or vessels of the Naval Service, and the officers and seamen serving in such ships or vessels, or any officers or seamen belonging to the Naval Service.

24. Whenever the Governor-in-Council places the Naval Service or any part thereof on active service, as provided in the two preceding sections, if Parliament is then separated by such adjournment or prorogation as will not expire within ten days, a proclamation shall issue for a meeting of Parliament within fifteen days, and Parliament shall accordingly meet and sit upon the day appointed by such proclamation, and shall continue to sit in like manner as if it had stood adjourned or prorogued to the same day.

25. When the Governor-in-Council declares that an emergency has arisen in which it is expedient for the public service that His Majesty should have control of any dock, shipyard, pier, wharf, machine shop, repairing or salvage plant, factory, Warehouse, store or other building the Minister may, by warrant under his hand, empower any person named in such warrant to take possession thereof in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, and to use it for the service of His Majesty in such manner as the Minister directs, and all persons, officers, servants and employees employed thereon shall obey the directions of the Minister in connection with the management or operation thereof.

26. The Governor-in-Council may organize and maintain a force to be called the Naval Volunteer Force.

27. The Naval Volunteer Force shall consist of officers and seamen raised by voluntary engagement from among seafaring men and others who may be deemed suitable for the service in which such volunteers are to be employed.

31. In an emergency the Governor-in-Council may order and direct that the Naval Volunteer Force, or such part thereof as may be deemed necessary, shall be called into active service, and the naval volunteers so called out shall be liable to serve under such regulations as may be prescribed.

32. There shall be an institution for the purpose of imparting a complete education in all branches of naval science, tactics and strategy.

2. Such institution shall be known as the Naval College of Canada, and shall be located at such place as the Governor-in-Council may determine.

37. The minister may lay down targets, buoys and other appliances for target practice by the vessels in the Naval Service, and also may provide rifle ranges suitably equipped for the use of the Naval Service at or near any port or any naval establishment.

